765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575),
[177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
● [788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

If person
787 in jimsonweed trance saw another person lacking
276 eyes, nose, leg, etc., it meant latter was going to die. This was why onlookers were afraid of person under influence of jimsonweed (FP). When person swallowed ants, number of ants he vomited foretold how long he would live.

RITUALS

788 Three rituals important among Tübatulabal: taking of jimsonweed to gain supernatural assistance, face washing to remove meat taboo, and mourning ceremony.

886 Jimsonweed.- All boys, girls past puberty
788 urged to drink jimsonweed decoction in order to
796 obtain long life (ho·nun), but rite not obliga-
276 tory; "if they wanted to, they took jimsonweed; some were afraid to take it. Maybe if they didn't take it they'd die, when sickness came" (SM). Adults also drank jimsonweed to obtain visions; some persons took it several times.

[887] Group of 5-6 boys, or boys and girls, who were
788 to take drink were put in charge of old man, who
796 took them into sweat house on winter evening,
276 kept them there for 3 nights, days. No speeches made to young people during this time (SM); each morning they were given infusion of plant medicine to induce vomiting, and underwent same dietary restrictions to which person taking jimsonweed for medicinal purposes was subjected.

During morning of third day old man in charge dug jimsonweed roots; before digging them he addressed plant, saying, "Here I am digging you now; I want you to give these people something
[462] when they drink you, so they will have long life." Women never dug roots or administered drink. After roots dug, old man macerated them with round flat stone on metate, put them in large watertight basket filled with water and allowed them to soak for 10-12 hrs. In evening he strained off liquor into cooking basket; around sunset gave it to vision seekers to drink. If 6 persons drinking, about 2 gallons decoction prepared, each person taking one long drink. Decoction caused drinkers to fall into stupor which lasted until about midnight or longer; SM said they were not turned during sleep; FP said they were. When they awakened their eyes "were all red and watery."

[787] Visionaries fasted entire day after drinking jimsonweed; in 6 days considered to have recov-
[262] ered from effect of taking drug, and could by then drink thin acorn mush; refrained from eating meat or grease for 2 months.

Individuals, either adults or young boys, girls, fasted, drank decoction, either in their own house or in open, in foothills. Often father gave jimsonweed to son or daughter thus; women did not administer the drink.

787 While visionary in stupor induced by drug,
276 various animals appeared to him; one such might
776

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
[177] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with
[178] takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured; often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

788 little balls." In evening grandfather took youth
787 outside, questioned him about what he had seen in trance; boy told old man what life he had obtained, if any. All youths could take ants thus; "many of them did" (SM).

787 Youths of 16 or more also fasted single day,
788 in evening swallowed small ball of tobacco and
776 lime, either in sweat house or outside in hills;
276 sometimes animal appeared to seeker, became latter's pet (SM). FP said younger women also took tobacco for same purpose.

788 Face washing.- "Little fiesta" or face-washing
765 ceremony (hu·yu·di·l), lasting one day, held by
572 certain survivors of deceased person before they could eat meat (see section on Cycle of Life); survivor asked 1-3 persons, preferably unrelated to him, often "somebody one liked" (FP), who lived in another hamlet, to enter into reciprocal face-washing (ta·gin) relationship with him or her. Mourner then announced to relatives, friends that on certain day he would eat meat; on morning of this day all people from various hamlets assembled at his house. Baskets full of shell money were put on display near mourner's house; during morning "all the people gathered around, and an old man spoke to them, telling them so and so was going to eat meat; then that person's face was washed by his ta·gin, in plain cold water. After that the jars of money were handed over to the ta·gin, who might be a man or woman, or a married couple; they took them, then all the people and the person giving the fiesta had a big dinner, and ate meat" (SM). In morning, or after feast, games played; shamans might hold contest; toward evening people went home, or danced at night "if they wanted to"(FP).

Ta·gin relationship reciprocal; a person who had paid to have face washed "went over and got his money back" from his ta·gin when death in latter's family obliged him to have his face washed. Subject of this second face washing paid amount equivalent, at least in theory (below), to sum he had previously received; sometimes he added "a little bit more" (SM).

Some mourners had faces washed within 2-4 weeks after death of relative, others "did not eat meat for one year" which FP thought was "awfully long; I don't see how they did it." Sums paid for face washing varied; after her husband died FP ate only beans, potatoes, piñons, acorn mush for 7 months, then paid cousin $50 to have face washed; received $30 later for washing this cousin's face after latter's husband died; "I guess she was short of cash that time" (FP). When 2 of Louisa Salazar's children died at Onyx, Mrs. Salazar paid Petra Miranda $50 to have face washed; in 1932 when Mrs. Miranda's son died, she paid Mrs. Salazar $50 in return for same service." PN had paid $80 to have face washed after husband died; SM's son Feles, same amount after his wife died; SM said that formerly chief or dancer might pay equivalent to $100 in clamshell currency for

T
788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."
765 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent
572 "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T
587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T
572 Failure to observe meat taboo implied disre-
754 spect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse.
[78] Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T
Y
171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T
788 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner
765 announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta"
768 or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, pos-
764 sessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

788 765 768 764 person's things, the ghost would return every night, looking for his things, and frighten the relatives when they went outside after dark. But if all a dead person's things were burned, the ghost would never bother people" (SM).

788 765 Mourning ceremonies lasted 7 days, were usually given in summer, during July, August, 1-2 yrs. after death of man, woman, child for whom they were held. They were made for particular individuals; "other people didn't mourn their dead then, they had to wait, and give their own fiestas" (SM). Spouse, parents of deceased gave ceremony; chiefs, prominent men, wealthy women were mentioned most frequently as undertaking it, although ceremony was not formally restricted to such; "not everyone who died had a fiesta made for him; if his relations didn't make one, they [768] buried all the dead person's things right after they buried the body, instead of saving them to burn" (SM). Kroeber (Handbook, 609) gives Anangat as name for mourning ceremony; SM said anangat was "never the name for anything; it means crying"; crying or wailing was of course part of ceremony.

788 765 173 Mourning ceremony given ca. 1870 by Elemgil, Palagewan chief at cuhka·yl. after death of wife, described by SM. "When Elemgil made a fiesta, he told his messenger to go tell everybody; Dick went to the Monilabal at Tejon, Porterville, and to the Kawaiisu, and told the people to come to cuhka·yl. Before the fiesta began, Kawičina, the dance manager, told the boys to make a brush enclosure for the people to camp in. Some of the Monilabal and people around here went over to cuhka·yl in groups; before they got to Elemgil's the men who had feather headdresses put these on, and then they lined up in single file and the line advanced like a snake, the men singing and hollering. When they got to the enclosure, men, women, and children lined up straight; the men and boys did a piston-rod step, lifting one foot in front of the other; the women walked sideways. Kawičina stood in the middle of the line, calling "take·e·e·" to Elemgil; he was calling for money. Then all the people went in the enclosure and 2 men clowned, to get money; one man put ashes all over the other man's face. Elemgil brought his money out; the people held out their hands and he gave each person a 10- to 12-in string of beads.

788 765 173 "After that Kawičina showed the people where to camp (fig. 15). The fiesta lasted 6 days and

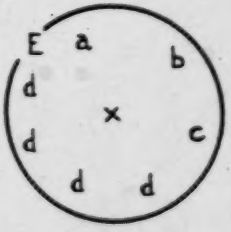

Fig. 15. Position of camps in ceremonial brush enclosure. E, entrance at NE; a, Porterville Yokuts; b, Tejon Indians; c, Kawaiisu; d, Tübatulabal and Palagewan; x, fire around which dances were held (SM).

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

"At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
788 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
765 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
173 and went around the fire inside the enclosure,
535 slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.
[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people
535 danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
765 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feath-
768 ers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
● 788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

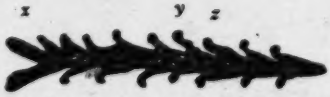

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (PN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing proceeded clockwise.
[801]

[p. 71(6)]